5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

Though Monckton reports (1921) a few large villages in the early post-contact period, it is only recently, in response to Australian pressure, that multi-clan villages, with populations ranging from 100 to 500, have become common. Most of the plantations found in the Northern district have been established by Australian ex-servicemen supported by government loans. A number of Orokaiva have been drawn to work on these plantations, others to jobs in Popondetta, others again to service with the police, the armed forces or employers outside the district. Such migration has substantially reduced the proportion of the male village population group.[2]

2. *Technology and Aesthetics*

We possess only the briefest description of Orokaiva industry (in Williams 1930). Although I did collect additional data, the traditional technology has been transformed to such an extent that my data must needs be fragmentary. The only axes and adzes now in use are made of steel; most of the various stone-made cutting tools described by Williams are no longer in use, being replaced by the ubiquitous bush knife wielded by young and old, male and female. One exception is worth noting, if only to emphasise an element of continuity: cockle shells are still used for the scraping of coconuts and for the shaping and decorating of pots. Most of the needles used by women are still made of flying fox bones (*poma*), even though a few needles have at times been obtained from the Mission. While files for sharpening tools are necessarily made of steel, rough leaves still serve as tools for scraping pots, smoothing down wood, etc. The same mixture in the use of basic tools is found in agriculture, hunting, and fishing: we still find the digging stick but also the axe; traditional hand nets and fishing spears (with steel tips), but also snorkels. For hunting, traditional devices have been almost entirely replaced by the shot gun. The old technology is still basically intact in those few industries which are directly related to ceremonial life: the making and decorating of loin cloths, feather headdresses, ceremonial weaponry, musical instruments such as drums. Certain other specifically feminine artifacts (mats, baskets, string bags) are still produced and in use, while much of the contemporary Orokaiva house-building technology is traditional, Fine wickerwork for ceremonial objects (armlets, spear decorations, etc.) is still made by some of the older men. Orokaiva women have almost stopped making pots, though this was an important industry in pre-contact times. While trade goods are used for everyday purposes, such pots as are still made serve as gifts to women at the time of marriage. They are kept for sentimental reasons, but we were able to see only very few.

An everyday Orokaiva meal consists of taro, often with a few vegetable condiments: coconut milk, cordyline tips, or edible pitpit,[3] or one of a number of herbs, sometimes of supposed medicinal value. Much care is devoted to the cooking of the taro and variety is provided partly by a choice from many varieties of taro growing in most gardens. In the dry season, any of a number of subsidiary foods (sweet potato, German taro, yam, banana, breadfruit and several others) may be added to make the taro stretch further. Meat or fish is eaten only rarely, usually on festive occasions. Foods like tea, sugar, bread and salt are also reserved for such occasions. Although several traditional methods of

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

Most of these capital goods enter the village by gift or gift exchange. Some types (e.g. kitchenware and clothes) may pass from one village to another by way of brideprice, but other types of gifts (e.g. radios) are hardly ever made in a ceremonial context, but only to close kinsmen. I am not at all sure whether, in Salisbury's terminology, the latter type should be classified as a luxury or a ceremonial item.

One conclusion emerging from the various studies made in the 1960s is that total village income has risen rapidly among the Orokaiva. The sources vary. it may be due to outside employment of persons still ordinarily resident in the village, to increased cash cropping, to sale of food surpluses or to increased remittances from local men employed away from the village.

4. *History*

The main object of this section is to provide some background for the study of Orokaiva exchange, especially between tribes and between Orokaiva and Europeans.

In physical constitution, Williams considered the Orokaiva to be 'midway between the typical Papuan and the typical Melanesian'. Dupeyrat, who has recently (1965) surveyed the evidence, considers the Orokaiva 'basically of the Papuan Mountain type', but mixed with Polyno-melanesian elements, late-comers in Papua, who spread to the Northern District via Maisina and Manigela. It is certainly true that one notices more Polyno-melanesian features along the coast (e.g. among the Yega) than inland.

In the period just prior to European occupation, the most notable aspect of Orokaiva history that can be reconstructed is pressure from the dense population on the Mount Lamington foothills upon the sparser populations surrounding the mountain on all sides, but especially to the north and east. These sparser populations (to whom Williams gives the common name Sauaha) pressed upon the still sparser populations dwelling in the still less fertile country on their own northern and eastern borders (see Chinnery and Beaver 1916; Williams 1930: 152–4; Monckton 1921: Ch. XXIV; Crocombe and Hogbin 1963: 14–16).

In 1888, in response to Australian pressure, the British government annexed Papua. The first administrator, Sir William McGregor, made many arduous exploratory expeditions while establishing his rule in this vast unknown territory. On one of these expeditions he ascended the Mambare river to its highest navigable point, a few miles above Tamata creek, where he discovered the existence of gold in the sand and shores of the river (Monckton 1921: 78; Murray 1912: 326–8). This was the first discovery of gold in Papua with important commercial prospects, and led to a major movement of prospectors and miners to the Northern District. Relationships with the Papuans were bad from the beginning, and there were numerous killings by both sides. In 1900 150 miners were working on the Yodda river; the Yodda and Gira goldfields together produced 15,000 oz. of gold (Murray 1912: 333). In order to stop the bloodshed, resident magistrates were stationed at Ioma, along the Mambare and at two places on the Kumusi river, which was for some years the access route to the Yodda field.

The early relationships between Orokaiva and Australians may be gleaned

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

TABLE II/11

HOHORITA MALE ADULTS IN SKILLED OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	*Resident*	*Non-Resident*	*Total*
Teacher	9	1	10
'Medical'	3	–	3
Driver	2	2	4
Shopkeeper	4	–	4
Other	2	2	4
Total	20	5	25

the Australian rulers, although they also know that so far the difference is not great.

Finally, broadcasting services and the messages transmitted by councillors have greatly increased their knowledge of the outside world. Through their transistor radios, they become aware of, and discuss, the affairs of the independent nations of Asia and Africa. They are thus beginning to feel part of the modern world.

5. *Field Locations*

I spent one year in the Northern District, travelling through it a good deal. My detailed data come mainly from three villages which I shall now describe briefly.[13]

Inonda. This was the first village I visited; I stayed there for eighteen days, returning later for a few brief periods. The village was previously reported on by Crocombe and Hogbin, Krinks and Waddell. It lies eleven miles from Popondetta, on the road to Oro Bay, has seven dwelling houses and a population of forty-two. At the time of my visit, there was only one politically significant clan represented in the village, namely Andiriha, who had been driven from the foothills of Mount Lamington by the Sangara tribe some fifty years earlier. Inonda, like other Orokaiva villages, was laid out in an elongated rectangle, with the dwellings spaced at equal distances. Neat rows of palms, shrubs and floral borders interspersed with trees subdivided the central area between the houses so as to give each family a semi-private space. The village had an Anglican chapel, made out of a corrugated-iron storage shed, where a lay preacher gave services. There was also a corrugated-iron copra-drying plant, no longer in use. Just behind the village was a slab of concrete laid down by the army during the war, and now being utilised as the floor of a women's club house that was being built at the time.

Unlike the other villages I visited, Inonda is only partly Christianised, four of the households being pagan. Coffee gardens have been established only by the Christian families and the women's club, which is one of a number organised by the government for social development purposes, and is supported exclusively by the same families. Inonda was also unusual, at least in my experience, in having one leading family in control of virtually all forms of community organisation.

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

Sivepe has twenty-four dwelling houses and a population of 137. The two politically dominant clans are Jegase and Seho, but some families from the Sorovi clan had not long ago migrated to Sivepe from a neighbouring village (Garombi). Sivepe had been shifted recently to the present site so that decorative borders were not yet established, though such improvements were started during my stay. It was planned that the village would be rectangular in shape, with two long facing rows, as in Hohorita and Inonda, but a third row, supposedly temporary, had been established on the hill behind the planned site. In other respects, however, the same standard of village layout had been followed. The houses were roomier than in the other villages and had walls of horizontally laid shingles, an innovation of which the villagers were rather proud. 105

Sivepe has no chapel, but the Anglican mission station is less than a quarter of a mile away from the village. The school conducted on the station is one of the best in the Northern District; it teaches up to grade six and many of its students qualify for admission to secondary schools. The station also maintains a small field hospital, with a Papuan assistant medical officer in charge. For more serious cases the large government hospital at Saiho was used, a facility serving the whole of the Northern District, but in practice out of reach of distant villages like Inonda. Hohorita people, however, use it frequently.

Sivepe has been Christianised only very recently. There were no baptisms until after the eruption and the Seho clan did not join the Church until about 1963. Today very few pagans are left and they do not form a political or other faction. Leadership is shared between several strong personalities. Sivepe lacks residents who stand out by superior wealth or European education, but is rather more homogeneous in that respect than either of the two other villages. Money comes mainly from coffee and from remittances sent by relatives working outside the village.

Sivepe, like most of the Sasembata-Sohu valley, has an extremely dense population – about 180 per sq. mile. 161

REFERENCES

1 Brookfield uses the Klingebiel and Montgomery (1961) classification of land which distinguishes land areas by the degree of limitation to land use imposed by geographical conditions. Limitations may be due to terrain, lithology, soil, or climate. A large territory surrounding Mount Lamington falls in classes I to III (which means it is suitable for cultivation with a mild degree of limitation), as contrasted with most of the rest of New Guinea, where the limitations are much greater. 133 134

2 Figs. 1 and 2 give a general impression of the geography of the district: land systems, natural features, settlements roads, tribal areas, etc. Table II/1 shows the distribution of population in the Northern District of Papua. Table II/2 shows the age breakdown of the population in Sivepe and Inonda. Table II/10 shows rather strikingly how suddenly labour migration began: the men of the Seho clan of Sivepe were just a little too old to have been involved, but the Jegase clan, whose members were slightly younger, mostly spent some time on jobs outside the village before or shortly after marriage. 167 164 162

3 Orokaiva: *ina*; botanical: *sacharum edule*. 262

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

CHAPTER IV

THE EXCHANGE SYSTEM AND THE NEW AGE

1. *Cultural Changes*

Many significant changes have occurred in Orokaiva society since European contact. The introduction of cash cropping has made the Orokaiva, to some extent, into a peasantry, depending to a limited degree on monetised marketing. Furthermore, there has been a large amount of labour migration, mostly by male workers whose families stay behind in villages. Even in the villages, technological innovations have been influential in raising productivity and improving standards of living, while sharply reducing the game population. People have become accustomed to the existence of a specialised political authority, wielded by Australians but supported and assisted by Papuan functionaries. Inter-village and inter-tribal warfare has been effectively suppressed. The Orokaiva give at least nominal allegiance to Christianity, and thus to the principle of obedience to an omnipotent god.

These changes have profound implications for Orokaiva political philosophy. As we have seen, the Orokaiva recognised the importance of Hobbes' question: how can a man avoid a perpetual war between all and all? The answer, briefly, was that social order can be created by a system of exchange partnerships. But this was not Hobbes' own answer nor that of the Australians who now rule New Guinea. If the changes pursued by the colonial government are wholly successful, it is clear that exchange partnerships, as the basic source of social order, must become subordinate to legitimate central political authority and the modern market economy. In other words, there is what Gluckman calls a 'contradiction' (1965: 109) between Australian policy and the exchange-oriented Orokaiva social philosophy. It is possible, but cannot be predicted, that this 'contradiction' will eventually lead the Orokaiva to abandon their traditional exchange ideology. In the meantime, however, it is already clear to the Orokaiva that their world view is being seriously challenged by white wealth and power.

The effect of pressure on the exchange system is evident in many spheres. In the economic sphere, the Orokaiva still carry on most of their non-monetary transactions by the traditional system, using gift exchange between consanguines, affines and bond friends. Furthermore, gifts of money are being made along traditional lines, money being used either as a substitute for *hambo* and other valuables, or as gifts from urban migrants to country kin. On the other hand, store-bought goods are, by a general convention, excluded from the full operation of the exchange system, only a minority being distributed as gifts. The

The finances of the store were under continual surveillance both by the local inspector and by the Assistant Registrar of Co-operatives in Port Moresby to whom regular reports were submitted by the inspector. A general reserve fund was maintained and was fully invested. Provision for depreciation was made every six months; this money was banked so that the provision of a new store building would be possible within about ten years.

The Cape Killerton store operated as a normal retail trading store but over three quarters of its business was conducted with its shareholders. In January 1963 there were 578 shareholders in the Gona villages co-operative store, of whom 108 (19 per cent) were Yega people. Yega shareholders purchased 34 per cent of all goods sold[1] while non-shareholders bought 13.5 per cent.[2]

The high rate of spending of Yega shareholders relative to the total membership was because the Yega people live nearest to the store at distances ranging from nil to four miles, and because the Yega probably received a higher cash income than the other groups.

The Yega had since the early 1930s been within walking distance of one of the best mission schools in the Northern District, with a European teacher permanently on the staff. In consequence young Yega men, who almost without exception left the villages to enter paid employment, were able to obtain skilled and semi-skilled jobs. In a sample group of 18 such wage-earners interviewed, the average remittance to relatives and friends in the village during 1962 was $110 p.a. As 40 per cent of the adult male work force was absent in wage-employment, a considerable amount of cash was being injected into the Yega economy. In addition, some Yega obtained a regular cash income from produce sold in Popondetta market (see Dakeyne 1965:102 ff.).

Expansion of membership in the G.V.N.S. Co-operative had almost ceased in 1964: 561 members in 1958 increased to 578 in 1961. As a branch store was opened at Buna in 1962, effective shareholder support for the Killerton store seemed likely to diminish. In any event there could be no major increase in shareholder numbers among the Yega, for nearly every adult Yega man resident in the area was already a shareholder in the co-operative. The bulk of the store's business was done with its shareholders but non-shareholding friends, such as members of a shareholder's family or visitors from the towns, were asked by shareholders to use their share numbers when making

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 67]

[1] Calculated from the rebates given in December 1962.

[2] Calculated on the basis of sales for the months October-December 1962.

262 The principal food at Ombi-Tara is taro, while other foods of importance include sweet potatoes, yams, bananas and plantain, edible pit-pit (saccharum edule) and a wide variety of leaves and bush cabbages. Bread-fruit, pandanus, betelnuts, coconuts, pine- [224] apple, pawpaw, watermelon and sugar cane are also eaten. The main sources of animal protein are provided by wild pigs, birds, flying foxes and the occasional cuscus. These add variety but provide 231 comparatively little food. The keeping of domestic pigs in vil- 657 lages has been outlawed for health reasons by the Ilimo Local Government Council which serves Ombi-Tara, but one old man, a former clan leader, kept three pigs under his house.

342 Readily available natural vegetation provides housing materials. Timber is used for the framework and walls, blackpalm or timber for the floor, and thatched sago leaves for the roof. Houses have an average life of about four years.

162 The population of Ombi-Tara by clan and location is presented in Table 8.

Table 8

Resident population of Ombi-Tara by clan and location, January 1966

Clan	Ombi			Tara			Blocks			Total		
	M*	F*	C*	M	F	C	M	F	C	M	F	C
Mumu	20	20	56	1	1	2	6	7	13	27	28	71
Kuei	3	3	7	11	8	20	-	-	-	14	11	27
Total	23	23	63	12	9	22	6	7	13	41	39	98

M* Adult males. F* Adult females. C* Children.

[166] [167] [464] Note. In addition there were seven Ombi men and six Tara men absent from the area working for wages, that is, roughly one man away for every three remaining at home.

245 but would estimate plantings to be about 4,000 trees, occupying
177 an area of eight acres.

Among resources which produce significant current income in
311 Sivepe and Inonda, two other types must be briefly mentioned here,
though they must be more fully discussed elsewhere. Income is
434 earned by men who are normally resident in the villages. When
these men are married and living away from the village with their
● 167 families, they provide support to the home people on critical
occasions and also, when villagers pay visits to them. I briefly
met a few Sivepe men who settled in Port Moresby and these men
were called upon, during the year of my study, to pay several plane
fares and feed several men who tried their luck in looking for jobs
in Port Moresby.

Secondly, men who return to the village after outside
167 employment are bringing savings into the village which forms a
464 significant source of revenue. Such savings often form part of the
bride-wealth paid by clansmen and it is thus the affines who spend
[583] it. During the year, four Sivepe men went to Port Moresby for
employment and three returned; one Sivepe man took up a job on a
plantation for awhile, largely to pay overdue taxes; a number of
434 men ordinarily working outside came home for short visits. Probably
837 the most regular income is derived from absentees when the men go
out to work by themselves, leaving their wives and children behind
613 in the village. Six such split families existed in Sivepe; in
every case, regular envelopes containing money were posted to the
wife. In the cases I investigated, eight to ten envelopes arrived
in a year, each containing $10 and sometimes $20. These envelopes
represent a considerable percentage of village income. As long as
the money keeps coming, a man knows that his relations will closely
watch his wife and will carry out obligations towards his affines;
thus, his wife will be kept under strong moral constraint from all
sides. It would be cynical to explain the generosity with which
men maintain their wives wholly by such motives, but the Orokaiva
do regard "looking after" the wives of absentees as a valuable
service and the envelopes are thus a form of repayment. "Looking
after" the wife and children, indeed, comprises a wide range of
services which must be performed by men of the lineage and which
are a reasonable charge against the income of a wage earner. As
most places of employment in Papua-New Guinea do not provide for
married accommodation, we may regard villagers and migrants as
engaged in a joint economic enterprise in which each group performs
services and obtains benefits.

At the time of the eruption several Sivepe men were working
464 on plantations; today, Sivepe people are interested only in the
better-paid town jobs, mostly in Port Moresby. In Inonda, however,
two men often take up short spells of plantation work while a
third, trained as a driver by an anthropologist, has a regular
government job in Popondetta.

CHAPTER II: Socio-Economic Factors

Section 1: Age, Sex and Marital Status

121 In this chapter, the study of internal variations will be continued, by a consideration of the human resources available to the villages and their economic productivity. A statistical analysis of 162 the population by age, sex and marital status (see Table 16)[A] shows that 464 the labour force lacks a proportionate number of young men in early adulthood; the number of men in the vigour of life is somewhat smaller, in Sivepa, than the number of women. The reason for this change is 166 that young men leave the village to earn money elsewhere. They often 167 do this before marriage, so that the bachelors' houses tend to be 464 occupied by a much smaller number than formerly; but after they are married they usually do not at once settle down in the village. It is 583 unusual nowadays for a bridepri.e to be paid in full at the time of the wedding. Usually this payment is delayed; the young husband goes out to work for it and after one or two years he sends back money and it is paid. At the one brideprice payment I observed in Sivepa, the groom was not even present. He was at his job in Port Moresby and the role of groom was taken over by another man from the same lineage--a married man with six children, as it happened, who duly cut the firewood and carried the water required for the entertainment of his [484] affines. Even after the bridewealth is paid, then, the husband continues to work at his job, rarely seeing his wife as travel is expensive and leave infrequently granted.

Because of these infrequent visits, young wives have few 593 children, but they receive regular gifts of money from their husband. 592 Eventually, the husband returns home; it is hard to say just what makes him decide. Before the age of 30 he usually starts to establish a family, and he then stays home continuously, to look after his garden [464] and his coffee. He may occasionally go back to town for a few months to earn money, but judging by the few examples I saw, he is not always successful at finding a job and even if he does so, he takes an early opportunity or uses an early excuse, to return home, carrying home some presents for his family and perhaps a little money. The family does not seem to be too troubled about the loss of earnings that result from his return. Some men manage to find accommodation for their families in town, in which case they all migrate.

This generalised picture needs qualifying. There were six Sivepa women (out of nine married women with absent husbands) who received regular gifts; three of these women were living in the household of a single man while another family head had under his control two

A [See Cat. 116, pp. 221-222--Analyst]

22: Schwimmer E-4.5 (1966-1967) 1969 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23 Mount Lamington

TABLE 9

CONSANGUINEAL LINKAGES BETWEEN 51 SIVEPE INFORMANTS AND OTHER VILLAGES, CLASSIFIED BY DEGREE OF NETWORK DENSITY

Principle of Classification: Villages are classified according to the number of informants who have kindred (no more than two degrees removed) originating there. Thus Class A comprises those villages mentioned by one (and no more than one) informant as the birthplace of members of his/her kindred. Class B comprises villages so mentioned by two (and no more than two) informants, Class C between 3 and 5, Class D between 6 and 10. Class E comprises those villages mentioned by more than 10 informants as the birthplace of members of their kindreds. When I speak of "one consanguineal linkage between one informant and another village," I leave out of account how many of my informant's consanguines were born in that other village--it might be one or several dozen.

Density of Network By Classes	Number of Villages In Each Class	Number of Consanguineal Linkages Between Informants and Other Villages
Class A	36	36
Class B	11	22
Class C	19	74
Class D	5	40
Class E	5	61
TOTAL	76	233

629 166

114 kind enough to show me this study in manuscript, I shall utilise it here. The general question with which Mr. Waddell is concerned is
464 whether earlier students of societies depending on shifting agriculture are right in saying that such societies, at least in fertile regions,
[166] have a considerable potential labour surplus. He proceeds to argue
[167] that, in the light of detailed data on the use of time in Sivepe, what potential labour surplus there might once have been has already been taken up by labour migration of male adults (which, for his sample, he puts at 37.8%). Waddell takes issue with Fisk (1962: 465) who defines economic activity as comprising only the production of food, clothing and shelter, and argues that, given the existing socio-economic matrix, all the other activities listed on his time charts (see Table 5) should be regarded as economic because they buy status and security.
[412] He also takes issue with Salisbury (1962: 216-20) who proposes that
[461] the change from a stone-to-steel technology in the New Guinea Highlands has resulted in a saving of two-thirds in the time allocated to specified axe-using tasks and who concludes from this that a vast potential labour surplus is thus created. Waddell shows, by a quantitative study of the allocation of time within activities, that only 38.5% of the time allocated to an activity is actually given over to the main task, and even if one includes ancilliear, and other productive tasks, this raises the proportion to less than 50% of the total time devoted to that activity. (See Table 17.) As steel implements are used for only a portion of productive tasks, they did not, Waddell argues, make a crucial difference to Orokaiva work patterns.

114 If at the time of Mr. Waddell's study (1964), the potential
464 labour surplus in Sivepe was small, how was it possible to fit in such
461 new additional activities as the growing of coffee? Mr. Waddell was in an excellent position to discover this as at the time of his survey
241 seven of 15 households surveyed engaged in cash-cropping; he was therefore able to inquire how this affected the time spent on subsistence food production. As it happened, the median time spent on subsistence gardening by the whole sample equalled precisely the median time spent by the cash-cropping households. (12.6 hours per week, vide his Table 5:5) It appears from the table I derived from Mr. Waddell (my Table 17) how the cash-cropping families fit in this extra work: they spend a great deal less time having rests and meals. While non-cash croppers allocate only 28.4% of the time within activities to their main task, the cash-croppers allocate 50.6%. Though Mr. Waddell gives interesting explanations which account for part of this discrepancy, even if full allowance is made for these, the fact remains uncontestably that the cash-croppers simply work harder.

114 Mr. Waddell proceeds to show, by a detailed psychological
241 assessment of the cash-cropping individuals, that they are indeed the
177 most acculturated and industrious members of the community. This seems to suggest a considerable heterogeneity in working habits as between the members of the community. The author clearly shows this heterogeneity to exist as between the sexes and between different age
A,B [See Cat. 116, pp. 209-210, 223-224, respectively--Analyst]

462 women can carry produce to market. Coffee, however, is in a different
[562] category because the bags are of a special type, supplied by the coffee
[422] factory and a specifically male property.

Section 3: Education, Occupational Skills, Money Income

241 In the last section, dealing with the division of labour, I
613 did not introduce the question whether there were differences in this
614 respect between the various social groups--lineages and clans. The main differentiation noted by earlier authors was that between cash-croppers and those engaging only in subsistence gardening. How in this respect there was no noticeable difference between clans in Sivepe: out of 1,100 coffee trees growing in Sivepe in 1962, 503 belonged to Jegase and Timumu and the rest to Seho, while in Inonda the coffee growers belonged to two Andiriha lineages. In Sivepe today most men grow coffee, and this applies equally to the Jegase, Seho and Sorovi clans; the exceptions are elderly people. There are, however, very significant differences in other respects between socio-economic patterns in the Jegase and Seho clans--differences which are obvious even on very superficial inquiry.

614 A minor imbalance in the age distribution of the two clans is
561 noticed at once from the statistics: the Jegase householders are predominantly in the 35-45 year age group whereas Seho is predominantly
[535] a little older (45-55 years). Hence the dance group formed in Sivepe is at present almost wholly composed of men of the Jegase clan. The
[177] age difference happens to be very significant in various indices of acculturation, as the first school was established at Sasembata in
[891] 1945, and the custom of looking for wage labour outside the district did not become widespread until about the same time. While some Jegase
[167] people know some English, none of the Seho people over 35 speak any
[191] at all. Furthermore, the first village constable and the first councillor in Sivepe were both Jegase men who had taken up employment well before the second world war. During the years they held these posts (1939-1965), Seho had much less contact with government.

614 The statistics (Table 20) show that Jegase male adults have
463 slightly more school education than Seho adults but a great deal more occupational experience. This experience, for both clans, did not include work requiring much formal training; it was labour on rubber and cocoa plantations, on the roads, assistance with land surveys,
[177] laundry work, service as a "houseboy," and in the A.P.C. Nonetheless, an intelligent man thrown into these kinds of situation can find out a good deal about the outside world; in later dealings with external agencies, he is able to make more informed judgments. A further opportunity for such experience was offered the Jegase clan when the Australian National University, which made Sivepe into a sample village for several studies (see below, Chapter VII), decided to concentrate

A [See Cat. 116, p. 227--Analyst]

CHAPTER III: Degree of Homogeneit of the Community

621 To what extent do we find ethnic diversity in this population? The answer to this question depends very much on our concept of homogeneity. If we look merely at the diversity of clans and of places of birth of present community members, as stated by themselves, a remarkably homogeneous picture may be presented for Sivepe: out of 28 male adults actually resident in Sivepe, 26 were born within two miles of the present village site; the other two were born in Soroputa, which [591] is hardly more than four miles away. Both the Soroputa men had married [582] Sivepe women; they were the only two families that were overtly uxorilocal. Although the rest of the families were all overtly virilocal, only seven out of 33 adult Sivepe females came from a village more than two miles away from the present village site. None of these seven were over 45 years of age; all but two were under 35 years old. Furthermore, six of these seven women married into the Jegase clan. Only one of them married into Seho; in this case, the woman had married a Jegase man, become divorced, and then remarried into Seho.

621 The traditional pattern was for a man to marry a woman from 582 a nearby village; the present generation of Seho householders had all followed this tradition. The more modern pattern is to choose women from further afield; this had become a frequent practise for the younger Jegase men who tended to choose wives from villages two to four (but never more) miles from Sivepe. Sorovi had followed the traditional pattern, without one exception. From this viewpoint, homogeneity was extreme.

563 In Inonda, two of the nine adult male inhabitants were born outside the district: one came from Arafa, in the Managalasi district 169 and was captured by Inonda people in war as an infant. This fact was at first concealed from me and only elicited when inconsistencies arose. If one asks his clan name, he answers it is Andiriha. He has two sons living in the village, both married. The other immigrant is a Sangara man who was a mission teacher at Sewa before the eruption, came to Inonda with the other Sewa people, and did not return to Sewa when the others went back to their old village. His two daughters both married Inonda men.

621 Of the ten adult women living at Inonda, four came from the 628 Sangara tribe, one from Kendata in the Sasembata district and the others [582] from villages in the vicinity of Inonda. The term "vicinity" has a slightly different meaning in the Inonda district than in the far more densely populated area around Sivepe. The villages from which Inonda women tended to come were three or four miles away rather than just one mile. To this greater geographical distance corresponded a greater

621 social distance also. Relations between Inonda and Ureo or Hobota,
628 from which Inonda recruited wives, were distinctly less friendly than those prevailing between, say, Sivepe, Garoubi and Binduta. (See my doctoral dissertation and also Hogbin, 1966.)

If we seek an explanation for the far greater heterogeneity
563 of Inonda, we find two historical causes in this sample: a war and
621 a disaster. The link with Kendata came through the Managalasi man;
167 the links with Sangara came as a result of the eruption of Mt. Lamington. Admittedly, this Sangara link was of a modern type, the central figure being a mission teacher. The residential pattern however is ancient: due to some vicissitude, a man settled with his affines; this led to further marriages between his village of origin and his village of residence. He was given enough land to cultivate for subsistence. In this case, the Sangara immigrant still quoted his own clan name when asked; the Managalasi man did not.

If we go back a little further in the history of Sivepe, even only one generation beyond the present residents, we find much the
[727] same pattern as still survives in Inonda. The capturing of young
[423] orphans was a commonplace event among the Orokaiva, as were also migrations to escape from enemies. Sometimes the fugitives or the orphans returned eventually to their village of origin, looking for a friendly relative who was willing to meet their claims to the land of their fathers. In going back a few generations into the past, one never knows for certain who is a new immigrant and who is a claimant for ancient rights.

The tendency is always to obliterate the traces of alien origin, to drop alien phonetical habits and alien use of grammar and
[773] vocabulary as soon as possible. On the other hand, myths of the place of origin will still be transmitted to the children, so that anyone collecting tales among the Orokaiva will be presented with a variety of versions of different local origin. Many of the best ones I collected were of Kiorota origin because the father of old man who told the stories came from that district about 45 years ago. Furthermore, the links with the place of origin are rarely broken off, not even in the case of women or babies who were abducted as war captives. The immigrant wishes to keep alive his land rights in his place of origin. The people of his native village in return wish to exploit any advantages there may be in the connection between their absent clansman and his hosts. This connection will be kept alive by further intermarriages.

Immigrants and their descendants therefore retain multiple
167 loyalties. As these loyalties are kept alive over the generations
563 by intermarriage, use of trees in the other village, fishing and hunting rights, and as migration used to be very common before the pax Australiana, such multiple loyalites are extremely common. I am not quite sure how these loyalties fared in time of war, but I understand that if two men who were linked by such relationships found themselves on opposite sides in a war, they were unlikely to fight each other though stories are told of unfortunate accidents. I have

167 already pointed out the usefulness to a village of such men of multiple
563 loyalties because they were the natural ambassadors if something needed to be negotiated between the two groups.

It will be seen that the effect of the eruption on the homogeneity of Sivepe has been minimal: one stranger came into the community
621 through marriage. The ideology engendered by the resettlement villages
167 did lead to some accretions in Sivepe population over the last decade before my visit, but these accretions (from Binduta and Garombi) would hardly make the population heterogeneous. These migrations were over a very short distance, short enough to allow migrants to maintain gardens on their own land, and were facilitated by existing agnatic and cognatic links.

22: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1969 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23
Mount Lamington

CHAPTER VI: Addition and Loss of Community Members

161 Though the population of Sivepa has increased between the years 1951 and 1967, this increase is less than might have been expected after the settling in Sivepa of two additional Jegase families and six Sorovi households. An analysis of Table 16 will show that the net [166] population increase in 16 years corresponds very closely to the increase due to the immigration of 15 Jegase and 26 Sorovi people into Sivepa. The 1951 figures showed 40 children who, today, should range between the ages of 17 to 35; 15 of these were boys. Looking at the present Sivepa population, we find only six men of that age group and only three of these were children in Sivepa in 1951 (the other three are immigrants). This depletion of the 17-35 year age group is one of the most strking features of the present population structure.

The second striking change is in the number of children--there are almost twice as many of them in Sivepa today as there were in 1951. [158] It seems likely that this increase should in part at last be due to the improved health services: the monthly clinics, with the possibility [165] of immediate referral of young children to the Saiho hospital, do save 167 a number of lives, even if the mortality rate is still high.

166 The migration of young women into and out of Sivepa is a continuous process due to virilocal residence; a far more significant [591] demographic process is the outflow of men as a result of labour migration. [464] Rimoldi reported that ten male siblings and sons of householders of his (Jegase-Tinumu) sample were employed outside Sivepa in 1962; in 1966, I found that this figure had risen to 12. I have only included men who had been residents of Sivepa and who had left, as adults, to find work. By this criterion, it would not be possible to class absent brothers and sons of Sorovi men as "labour migrants from Sivepa," as these men had never lived in Sivepa at any time but had [614] been residents of Garombi before they became labour migrants. There [197] were, at the time of the survey, no labour migrants of the Seho clan. The fact that Jegase had many labour migrants while Seho had not even one certainly accentuated the relative dearth of contact with the outside world that characterised Seho. On the other hand, we should not read too much significance into it. It so happened that the Seho men came from very small families; most of them actually had no adult brothers living, and though they had many children, the only adult children they had happened to be girls. Thus they collected a disproportionate amount of bridewealth but could not contribute much to the external labour market. The Seho men were not actually as cut off from the world as these statistics might suggest: all had sisters' sons and sisters' husbands, real or classificatory, who were labour migrants; two had themselves been labour migrants earlier in life. In

A [See Cat. 116, p. 225--Analyst]

a village as small as Sivepe, statistical samples will sometimes show freakish features of which the sociological significance should not be overestimated.

Nine of the 12 labour migrants came from two of the families, namely the family of the village constable and that of the man who was councillor for Sivepe over the years following 1956. The other migrants came from three further Jegase families. The reason for all these movements was, of course, the absence of employment opportunities close to Sivepe. One absentee from Sivepe was a boy of the Seho clan who was at a secondary boarding school (Martyr's school, at Agenahambo).

Dissension was the reason for both the major migratory movements into Sivepe. The two Jegase families who came to Sivepe around 1956 were originally residents of a hamlet near Binduta called Korinasusu. All the other families of Korinasusu belonged to a different clan (Usohu). Conflicts between the groups arose; one Jegase man felt sure that deaths in his family were caused by Usohu sorcery and left. Another Jegase man was then accused of sorcery against Usohu and decided it would be wiser if he left too. At one time, such families might have set up a separate hamlet, but the government pressure towards consolidated villages led to their settlement at Sivepe, where there were a number of other Jegase families.

I was not able to reconstruct precisely what led to the Sorovi migration. Two of the men who settled in Sivepe were brothers of the Garoubi feast leader and the other men were linked with these two by affinity or close friendship, as well as common clan membership. It is a general principle of Orokaiva family structure that the oldest brother in any family has absolute control over the family land and other family assets; he takes the place of the father. There is no sort of appeal against his decisions. He has the duty to "look after" his younger brothers and see that they prosper. If he fails in this task, the younger brothers have only one recourse; namely, to leave. In practise, the oldest brother is often compelled to divide up the patri-money when such a split-up occurs. Certainly this is what happened in the present case. The younger brothers renounced their elder's protection and started out on their own. Again, due to government pressure, they joined an existing village rather than starting a new one, as they might once have preferred.

Sivepe was chosen for several reasons. One of them undoubtedly was the link that existed through the three women from Ajoro who had been captured and taken to wives by men from Garoubi and Sivepe. The descendants of these men regarded themselves as bound by common ancestry, because the three Ajoro women were regarded as being closely related (nobody could say how, but the fact that they came from the same village was said to be sufficient). This was a link between Sorovi and one lineage of Jegase; there were also specific links with a Seho lineage. Furthermore, as was often emphsized to me, there were links of hereditary friendship. Also, the families had land very close to Sivepe.

657 Garombi was a somewhat delapidated settlement. The government
621 and the council were said to favour its dissolution and incorporation
into Sivepe and Binduta. This project was favoured by Sivepe which
166 was keen to enlarge its size. Sivepe could see that under the modern
dispensation, the greatest favours always went to the largest villages.
● 167 The large villages had shops, water supplies, a club house; the coffee
truck stopped there, and so on. There was also a prize for the most
improved village; here, too, size was thought an asset. In council
elections and many other contemporary situations, size meant power.
Sivepe was therefore eager to absorb these families, hoping that more
would follow. During the year of my visit, there were several meetings
about this with Garombi people; rumours of further migration were
hopefully spread around.

161 In contrast, Inonda slightly dropped in population in the period
under consideration. There was the same rise in the number of children;
[464] there was little loss through labour migration (only one man in 1962;
as Crocombe and Hogbin report; and still only one today). The decline
[166] in the number of households was due to dissensions; the households
shifted to neighbouring Ureo and Hohota. Perhaps this decline may be
[621] explained by the strong leadership exercised by one family--socially,
economically and ritually--so that anyone who fell out with that family
more or less had to leave. In contrast, Sivepe has several strong
personalities who had to make compromises with one another. Sivepe's
post-eruption development was shaped not by one dominant figure but
by several, each making a specific kind of contribution. Certainly,
there was factionism, but there was also balance between the rivals.
In the next two chapters, I shall deal with these two kinds of
internal pressure: the character of the key personalities and of their
rivalry.

CHAPTER IX: Adherence to Tradition

Section 1: Conflicts Between Two Conceptual Systems

181 177 The Orokaiva of today has to act in conformity with two conceptual systems, one attributed to the ancestors and the other imposed by the mission and, to some extent, by the government. Essentially the system followed today is that attributed to the ancestors, but changes have been very numerous. These changes have mostly been conceptualised as substitutions and additions of the old system, leaving its essentials intact. At the same time, these substitutions have been calculated to ward off criticism from mission and government, and to cope with changed conditions.

551 178 There is, for instance, a taboo on using the names of affines. When the government pressed for the amalgamation of villages, affines frequently found themselves residents of the same village, which made the name taboo very awkward. The custom now is that the taboo is greatly relaxed for Christians; the baptismal name has only a mild taboo attached to it, while the severe taboo on the Orokaiva name bestowed at birth has remained unchanged. In dealings with Europeans, who do not respect the taboo (even though affines of a person are present), only the baptismal name is used. In the village, the Orokaiva names are now heard very rarely indeed.

464 167 178 The temporary labour migration of young men (who sometimes leave wives behind in the village) continues a traditional pattern of behaviour as young men used to go out in the same circumstances to hunt heads, but it is money they now bring back before they settle down. Bridewealth gifts have remained conceptually as they were before: there must be a pig or pigs, bark cloth, ritual valuables such as shell necklaces and feathers, cooking pots, but in addition 178 583 new wealth is necessary: store clothes, "knives and forks" (i.e., kitchenware) and money. Here again, a change in detail has not changed the basic conception of the gift but rather has updated the details.

852 178 There used to be a ceremony to which a boy was subjected at or just before adolescence. This was the time when the boy formally assumed clothing. The boy used to be given his perineal band (bo) by some adult male cognate, often the man by whom the boy had been named. (Williams, 1930: 98) Nowadays, boys wear clothing much earlier in life, but the ceremony is still held as an occasion for honouring the child. It is now called a "birthday party"; as such it has the blessing of the mission while at the same time an essential part of a boy's life cycle is preserved.

621 station. The Horeopa leader, who was the owner of this land, then
361 invited these other clans to come over and make Hohorita into one united big village. When the clans came over in 1959, they followed the same pattern as the Sorovi immigrants followed in Sivepa: they arranged their houses so as to maintain, in a subtle but unmistakable way, their own identity. They formed in effect a second rectangle which formed a harmonious continuation of the first rectangle but which was separated by just half a chain. In 1966, the front and the back half of Hoborita held separate feasts, each inviting a different village. In 1967, the councillor made plans to clear the gap between the two halves, remove the two old houses which emphasised the separation and build new houses in the cleared area to join the rows together.

Around this time, the Sombou people began to establish themselves in Hohorita, leaving their old village behind. I think it was they
[764] who filled the gap between the rows. The councillor had long been at
[775] pains to close down the small villages of Sombou and Kakita and Sombou was finally persuaded after the death of an old migrant who had remained a pagan. As he could not be buried in the Christian cemetery, and people did not feel disposed to carry out the full involved ritual to placate the ghost, they preferred to shift their village. (They thought that pagan ghosts are far more dangerous than Christian ones.)

Hohorita, like most resettlement villages, lies along the main
361 road to Popondetta, 11 miles from Popondetta, seven miles from Saiho
368 hospital, three miles from the Higaturu Council chambers. The school, conducted by the mission on Hohorita station, offers an education to the end of Standard 3.

621 The two feasts held in 1966 were intended to introduce into
433 Hohorita the pigless era advocated by all councillors. I arrived a
434 month or two after the feasts and by that time two very small pigs had appeared which were there for a special reason I have forgotten. Sombou and Kakita still had a normal complement of pigs. Coffee was
[231] a somewhat bigger enterprise in Hohcrita than at Sivepe. The trees
[245] were much better looked after, and there were far more of them. Every man had his coffee garden and an income of $100 per annum from coffee was normal. Young trees were also being planted at a much faster rate.
[166] Compared to Sivepe, there were very few wives whose husbands were permanently away working. The reason for this was that there are a number of plantations quite close to Hohorita and those who needed to work to pay off bridewealth, etc., could do so without going too far afield. Money to pay taxes and other regular outgoing expenses
464 would come from coffee. Men who were able to find skilled jobs,
167 clerical or professional work usually had their wives with them. An important resource of Hohorita, not shared by Sivepe, is the availability of good jobs within a reasonable distance; the fact that Hohorita families do not break up in the same way as Sivepe ones indicates that such separation is probably economically motivated. It is necessary for a young man to earn his trophies, so to speak, which in the modern world means money, but if he can do it without a prolonged absence from home, he prefers staying home.

27: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Alienation in the Creation of Exchange Value

435 In the Orokaiva village, exchange value may enter in four ways:
436 through cash crops, outside gifts, labour and business. The two latter categories are recent. Whereas wages were an insignificant
[434] item in most villages during my 1966–67 study, a recent income survey (Newton 1978) in a typical village showed an overall income of about K675 per household, made up of coffee returns 35%, wages 37%, migrant gifts 12%.

[776] We have no special studies of work concepts in this sector, but some general indications. It may seem surprising that Jesus Christ was nominated as the originating deity of monetary compensation for work, but New Guineans widely regard him as originator of European wealth and therefore also, not illogically, of the concept of money and exchange value. The idea of converting labour into money, in itself, greatly interests New Guineans. Thus Daniel de Coppet shows that in the Are'are social system there is but one traditional method of converting food and services into shell money, viz by acting as an undertaker. For this reason the office of undertaker was a highly valued one. Thus Councillor Colin might well genuinely revere a deity or culture hero who instituted the full convertibility of labour into money.

461 The term *pure ari* is appropriate to describe the white man's
435 labour if for no other reason than that a 'job' just like the *pure* is a place where one spends the day. The new dispensation has, sure enough, its own conflict (*isoro*) and mode of conflict resolution.
[694] Councillor Colin brings this out by his example of the policeman
[759] who puts village men into handcuffs and takes them off to court. In such a case it was the task of the sorcerer to ensure that the men would escape conviction and be set free again.[30] Virtue, in such a system, is largely a matter of keeping out of trouble, but also it is a matter of not squandering the money but reserving some – ideally half – of it to serve the needs of kinsmen and fellow villagers: contributions to ceremonial payments, feasts, travel expenses etc. Briefly, wages tend to be converted into political power.

435 No great value was usually attached to conversion to western
436 commodities, except where these became valued prestations. Thus, when transistor radios became valued prestations, they began to appear in large quantities in the villages and were mostly paid for by absentee workers.

●[167] The subsistence/feasting duality continues in this system in that some money is needed for the former but a labourer would have little status in his home village if he did not set aside something for

435 the latter. Also, migrants normally leave behind a family member
436 with the task of looking after the land (*simbari*) in a technical,
magical and juridical sense. Often he also leaves behind a wife for
167 whom he is saving brideprice but who meanwhile must be looked after by his relatives. Money sent home therefore covers not only feasting contributions but also the function of *simbari*. This is not because village people would not perform such services free of charge but because, when a man earns money, those who help him earn that money are entitled to their share.

169 If we look only at the relations of production migrants have in their jobs, they seem totally 'alienated' (cf. Parkin, this volume).
461 Not only have they no control whatever over the product of their labour but this product lies entirely outside their conceptual
[571] universe. Yet these migrants avoid proletarianization in the full sense because they continue to have a stake in the village environment, which has its own economic, political and ideological base.

435 Our remarks above apply similarly to the village cash-crop sector. With the exception of coconuts, the use value Orokaiva see in European cash-crops is either very limited or non-existent. Coffee and cocoa are classified as non-foods, rubber latex as an unusable substance. Even the coconut, though an important food when fresh, represents no use value to Orokaiva when dried into copra.

This lack of perceived utility has not stopped cultivation of these crops on village land nor their processing by village-purchased
[245] machinery. Everyone irrespective of age is growing coffee. Those who are pressed for time tend to give priority to coffee and to partially replace their plantings of taro with 'German taro' – less valued but less laborious.[21]

245 Growing coffee is not considered pleasurable like growing taro.
824 When suggesting to an informant that coffee trees have a sweet smell,
461 I was firmly told: "*We* think the smell is dreadful". Such feelings go to show that the division between the spheres of use value and exchange value is not purely analytical but corresponds to a conceptual boundary between two models of life and work, and that Orokaiva try to keep this boundary clear. Coffee is grown because it takes far less time than it would to grow subsistence crops for the market, but the grower feels alienated from it while he feels
[438] identified with the subsistence crops. A small quantity of subsistence crops – surplus to requirements – is in fact sold in local markets for consumption by local people, but growers take the same care with them and regard them in the same way as the food they eat.

461 It is paradoxical that the work represented as introduced by Jesus
[177]